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ABSTRACT

This pamphlet describes briefly school structure in Communist China. The role of Maoist ideology in the education and socialization of young people is also discussed. The first four chapters explain the organization of preschools, compulsory elementary schools, noncompulsory secondary schools, and higher education. Educational aims are primarily to train workers for farms and factories, not for universities. Four common characteristics of Chinese and American education are concern for the disadvantaged, shortening the school years, political education, and work and study. Chapter five explores Maoist ideology and the Cultural Revolution. During the Cultural Revolution the quality of education and health care was improved, peasants were introduced to crude industrialization, elitism and intellectualism were criticized, and the arts were made pervasively propagandistic. Chapter six considers the reactions of Chinese youth to being forced to work in rural areas and to experiencing pressures of party loyalty when they attend universities. The final two chapters point out that the Chinese people are willing to experiment with short training periods to produce needed manpower, as in the case of "barefoot doctors" who are peasants with minimal basic medical training. Throughout the pamphlet, comparisons are made to the American educational system, student protests, and mass media. (AV)

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Fastback 89

What Can We Learn from the Schools of China?

Franklin Parker

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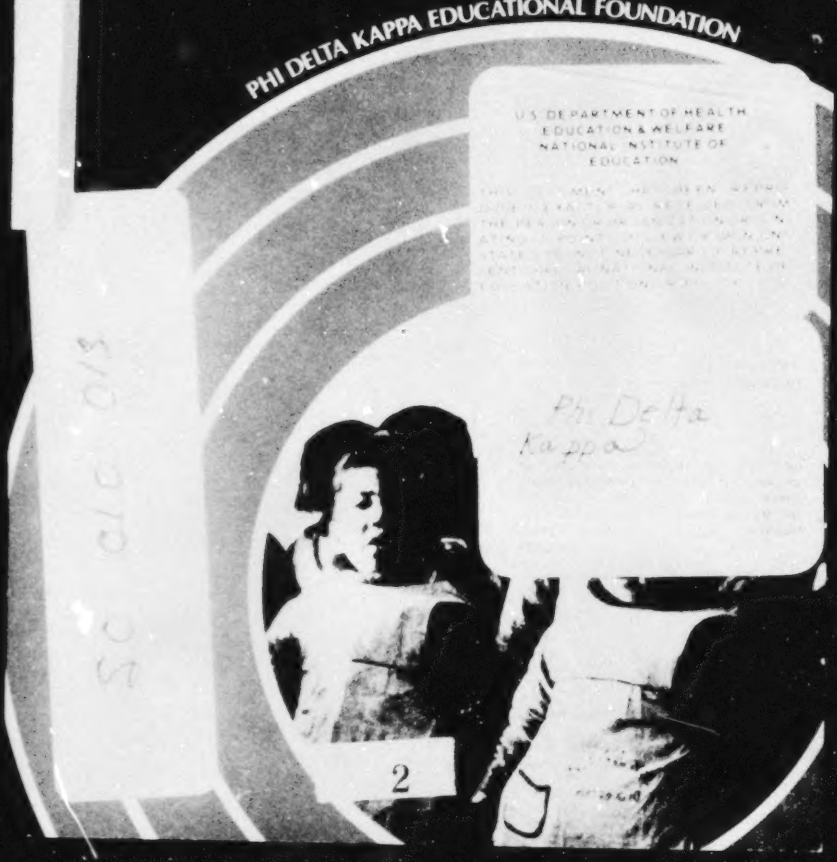

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Parker wrote *George Peabody, a Biography*, Vanderbilt University Press, 1971; *Africa Development and Education in Southern Rhodesia*, Ohio State University Press, 1960; *Africa South of the Sahara*, Prentice-Hall, and *The Battle of the Books: Kanawha County*, Phi Delta Kappa, 1975 (Fastback #63). He has written on African affairs for many encyclopedia yearbooks and on education for the *Americana Encyclopedia Annual*.

With his wife Betty he compiles and edits *American Dissertations on Foreign Education*, a bibliography series with abstracts, nine volumes of which have been published by Whitston Publishing Company since 1971; world coverage is anticipated. The Parkers have made four research trips to Africa (he co-directed a Phi Delta Kappa East Africa seminar). They have also done research in England and have visited Eastern Europe, including the USSR. Parker visited schools in Peking, Shanghai, and Hangchow, People's Republic of China, in March of 1974, while participating in the first Phi Delta Kappa seminar and field study devoted to that country.

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By Franklin Parker

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Maoist Education

Why the turmoil in Mainland China after Mao's death? Moderate Hua Kuo-feng, who succeeded Mao Tse-tung (1893—1976) as Chinese Communist Party chairman, was opposed by radicals, headed by Chiang Ching, Mao's fourth wife. To solidify their dominant position, Hua and the army-backed moderates vilified Chiang Ching and other radical leaders and launched a campaign to purge them.

What do radicals and moderates want? How is education affected? Radicals feel that the Chinese revolution is not over, that its purpose of freeing the peasant/worker mass from elite rule is not yet fulfilled, that mandarin-type education subverts the revolution, that Chinese Communist leaders now and in the future must be fervent revolutionaries, singlemindedly anticlass, anticapitalist, anti-elite, antirevisionist.

Moderates say that with the political revolution over, Chinese communism must now launch a revolution of economic development to give the peasant/worker masses a better life and to make China a world power. To meet this goal, moderates say China must select students with the ability to become engineers, technicians, and other kinds of professionals and skilled workers. Radicals insist that such selection is a return to elitism, is antirevolutionary, that devotion to ideology alone will keep China on a pure Communist path.

To understand this continuing conflict between radical "reds" and moderate "experts" (to use quick identifying tags), their clashes must be examined as they occur in a historical context.

What was Mao's role in this conflict? Mao—anarchist, Communist, warrior, scholar, strategist, nationalist—in old age played off

radical against moderate and held ultra-extremists in check. While purging so-called "capitalist roaders," his long view encouraged the late premier Chou En-lai (1898—1976) to make China an economically viable world power.

Why study Chinese schools? Are not ours vastly superior? What can we possibly learn from Chinese education? If the measure of success is educating more children for longer periods in nicer schools for higher-paying jobs, the United States leads China. Consider other reasons for studying China's schools:

First, one always learns from another school system, both from good and bad examples. The value of such a study is that one sees one's own schools better when they are compared with schools in another country, another culture, another value system, another way of life.

Second, China—officially the People's Republic of China—has gone through the most profound revolutions in history, culminating in Mao's Communist victory in 1949 and the Cultural Revolution of 1966-69. These have produced a country claiming to be the purest of Communist states, more pure than even the USSR.

Third, Maoists claim that through education they have engaged the people in their country—the most populous in the world—in an all-pervasive "serve the people" campaign, an unprecedented experiment in social altruism aimed at the veritable remaking of human nature.

Fourth, China, now one of the world's most rapidly developing countries, has through its schools and other agencies:

—fed, housed, and clothed more than 800 million people, although only 11% of its land is arable;

—exploded more than dozen nuclear devices;

—produced jets, submarines, tanks, missiles, and other weapons, along with cars, trucks, and big farm equipment;

—built bridges, railroads, and industrial complexes in some of the world's most difficult terrain;

—given sizable and growing economic aid to other developing countries, thus becoming a model for the Third World.

Finally, in modernizing and humanizing the world's oldest and once most downtrodden people, China is experimenting with school goals, teaching techniques, and changes comparable to our own.

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Common Strands in Divergent Cultures

What educational aims, techniques, and innovations do Americans and Chinese have in common? These four at least:

First, educating the disadvantaged. Critics say that we in the United States do not really educate our poor, despite huge spending and massive effort. China, claiming some success, has given preference in school, work, and leadership posts to the children of peasants, workers, and soldiers—those historically excluded from the good things of life.

Second, shortening and enriching the school years. In the United States we are now cutting back—after a century and more of extending education through high school and for several years sending about 50% of our high school graduates to college. Reasons for the cutbacks include economic recession; more money demands by schools, welfare, and city services than can be met by the government; and rising dropout rates from youths disillusioned with school. We want to shorten, enrich, enliven, and increase the effectiveness of our schools. China has reduced the time needed to complete schooling through university level from 17 to 12 years. Her claim that the quality, quantity, industrial efficiency, and citizenship of the new graduates has improved as a result of this change will be watched closely.

Third, work and study. Career education is a current concern in U.S. schools—how to mix general education with training for a job skill. China's schools emphasize work-study and deliberately link school with productive labor on farms and in factories.

Fourth, political education (call it citizenship education or even moral education). Some critics say that American schools and society are dysfunctional (or antagonistic) because angry, unsatisfied

students wreck school buildings and other public and private property; steal, lie, and cheat; show little concern for others; and do not vote as adults. Such behavior shows a decline in American citizenship values. Rarely, as in the Kennedy years, are young Americans touched with a yearning to serve others selflessly, the critics say.

The heart of Maoist education is youths' acceptance of a society-serving altruism, a serve-the-people attitude, a rare sense of social cohesiveness and national commitment. The Maoist moral approach in school and society raises these questions: Is correct motivation as important as or even more important than knowledge and skills? Can the right attitude in children and adults produce altruistic citizens? How do schools get young people to work as hard for national purposes as for personal gain? Can properly motivated people really move mountains? Why do China's schools produce dedicated citizens while American schools often produce too many uncaring, self-indulgent youths?

Does this imply that the Chinese are wiser, better, more moral? No. Both the United States and China were shaped by revolutions that aimed—in different ways, times, and contexts—to lift up the suppressed majority. Our revolution began in 1776 and its meaning has since been reinterpreted. Their revolution came in this century and has since been rekindled. America's critics and friends can point to both glorious and inglorious aspects of our history; the same—and worse—can be said of China. Neither country is wiser, better, more moral than the other. But as each raises its new generations in particular ways toward particular national and personal goals, it is only natural to wonder what we can learn from them and they from us.

Why are they so different from us? History and culture made us different. The American is more individualistic and competitive, the Chinese more family-oriented and socially cooperative. Our Greek and Judeo-Christian heritage, our industrialization, immigration, and frontier made us value personal effort and benefit from private gain; their long authoritarian rule and longer cultural and agricultural history made them a more regulated society with a stronger collective mentality for the common good.

Preschool Through Secondary

How are China's schools organized? Administration, finance, teacher selection, and textbook preparation are decentralized in some 80,000 communes plus the many town and city districts. Yet in aim and content schools adhere closely to central Party policy. But Party policy has zigzagged between extremes—on one side an intellectual content favored by moderates wanting knowledgeable experts for rapid national development, on the other a practical work-study content favored by radicals who prefer "redness" or revolutionary enthusiasm over "expertness" or competent technicians who are not necessarily ardent Communists. Schools are administered by local revolutionary committees, as they are called, with teacher, parent, party worker, and soldier members.

What is the school ladder? Before the Cultural Revolution of 1966-69, China had a six-year elementary school, three-year junior middle school, and three-year senior middle school (middle school is equivalent to the American high school). Since the Cultural Revolution, the 6-3-3 years have been reduced to 5-2-2 years. Mao said that by removing duplication and speeding up learning, the current nine-year school for ages 7 to 16 could accomplish as much as the pre-1966 12-year school. Higher education has been cut from five or six to three years, depending on field of study.

What preschool training is offered? Nurseries for children from 6 months to 3 years of age and kindergartens for ages 4 to 7 are managed by communes, housing units, and factories, freeing mothers to work on farms and in factories and providing good physical and health care. They teach approved social attitudes: loyalty to the Chinese people, the nation, the peer group, and Maoism. Small fees are charged for day care and slightly larger fees for six-day boarding

care. State subsidies assist needy families and those with several children (two is the current ideal). Trained kindergarten teachers earn an average of $20 per month. American visitors have seen kindergarten children dance; sing in Chinese, English, and French; and present plays complete with costumes. Classrooms inevitably contain Mao's portrait and often portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin.

What happens in elementary schools? Subjects in the five-year elementary school (ages 7-12) include Chinese language (reading and writing), arithmetic, music, art, and history taught from the viewpoint of Marxist class struggle. All subjects are given a practical and doctrinal interpretation. During several afternoons a week, students in practical classes under factory-like conditions make such things as tacks, chess sets, fountain pens, and water pumps. School buildings, though old, are well kept. Classrooms are spare, even crude by American standards, but have serviceable desks, chairs, and a slate blackboard. The children are attentive and seem well and happy.

What are secondary schools like? Secondary schools (called middle schools) are not compulsory. Officials say that all children now attend the five-year elementary school (ages 7-12), that 40% enter the two-year junior middle school (ages 12-14), and that 40% of these enter the two-year senior middle school (ages 14-16). The junior middle school offers general education. The senior middle school offers advanced studies and specialized courses.

Middle school subjects include Chinese language, English, Russian, mathematics, physics, chemistry, Chinese history, world history, geography, elementary agriculture, physical culture, music, biology, and health. As in elementary schools, the secondary school offers work-study, emphasizes problem-solving techniques, and stresses serving the people and the nation.

What are the educational aims? Besides ideology, altruism, and subject matter, elementary and secondary education aims to train workers for farms and factories, not to prepare students for universities. Most middle school graduates go to communes for a lifetime of work. Few are selected for higher education, and then only after several years of work. Preference goes to workers', peasants', and soldiers' children recommended by their peers on the job. Some urban youths, disillusioned at being locked into long years of farm

work, drift back to cities illegally, a difficult and dangerous step since ration cards (rice, cotton fabric, and a few other items are rationed, more for control than because of shortages) are valid only in assigned work places.

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Higher Education

How about higher education? Peking University, for example, a major intellectual center since its founding in 1898 and long a center of Chinese Communist ideology, has some 4,500 students (compared with a pre-Cultural Revolution enrollment of 9,000), 2,200 teaching staff—a high one-to-two faculty-student ratio— and offers studies in 16 departments and 64 specialties. Each of the 16 departments and the university as a whole are administered by a revolutionary committee headed by an elected chairman and composed of faculty, student, worker (maintenance), People's Liberation Army, and Party representatives.

How are students admitted? Each department decides how many students it can take, an admissions committee allots vacancies to the provinces, and provincial committees allot vacancies to individual communes, factories, and army units. Interested middle school graduates who have worked two or more years in a unit may apply or may be recommended. Workers in each unit endorse middle school graduates, working with the ones they believe should be admitted on ideological leadership grounds. This grassroots admissions approach, new since the Cultural Revolution of 1966-69, assures that those selected have a worker/peasant/soldier background, are Communist activists, and have work experiences that put them in touch with common people. Thus incoming students, older than ours, are at least age 20 and are invariably Communist Youth League members (red-scarved middle school activists); some are Party members. Where moderates (national development-minded pragmatists) have dominated over radicals (Communist enthusiasts), universities have rejected applicants who, though politically acceptable, are not academically qualified.

How much are professors paid? Reported monthly salaries are: professor, $100 to $150 (major monthly expenses for a family of four, $90); lecturer, $75; assistant lecturer, $35; graduate assistant, $23 to $28. Professors live in low-cost government housing and get free medical care; their families pay only half of medical costs if each member has paid a small annual medical insurance fee.

Are professors politicized? Since the Cultural Revolution, over two-thirds of Peking University's 2,200 member teaching staff have done periodic productive labor in factories, rural hospitals, on farms, or in "May 7" schools. Mao's speech on May 7, 1966, urged such work-schools for intellectuals and Party workers to learn from, i.e., keep in contact with, and as humble as, the laboring masses. They also have regular doctrinal discussion meetings.

What changes have occurred in higher education? Arts, science, medicine, and most other courses have been reduced from five or six years to three years. Examinations tend to be problem solving, often allowing open books rather than memorized factual answers (as in the past). Students' opinions are respected; initially professors confer with students about course content and requirements. One professor reported that he used to require the memorization of many dates until his students persuaded him to reduce their assignment to remembering only the essential ones.

Such admissions (to us, confessions) are common, since all who work and live together, including students, faculty, and maintenance staff, regularly discuss their own and their colleagues' good and bad points in relation to the work done and services rendered to the people and the nation.

How is the practical side of work-study accomplished? Peking University's pharmacy department, for example, produces drugs in a small crude factory. These drugs are displayed with pride because of their low cost, good quality, the simple equipment used in their production, and the factory's policy on experimentation with new drugs. One notes the pride of pharmacy students, instructors, and cooperating workmen, and forgets that the equipment initially appeared shoddy.

Some urban middle school students grow mushrooms for market, some repair broken motors and thus gain electronics experience, others grow herbs in tiny plots on school grounds for medicinal use. The students gain some experience, the school some

income, the economy some productivity. One wonders about the efficiency of such activities, but they are in line with Mao's desire to merge the practical with the theoretical, link labor with learning, make everyone work-conscious for nation-building, reduce differences between intellectual and manual workers, and eliminate elitist superiority from those in responsible positions.

Maoist Ideology and the Cultural Revolution

How central is education in Maoist ideology? Education's crucial role in China is evident in the hard-fought battle waged over its direction. In the 1950s, theoretical education to produce specialists threatened to dominate (lectures, books, and tests were emphasized); Mao reversed the trend with a half-work, half-study emphasis intended to promote Communist ideals and increase population. When similar "elitist" education gained ground in the early 1960s, Mao countered with the Cultural Revolution of 1966-69. The consequence was to have schools produce youths who were more red than expert by linking schools and universities with farm and factory work. Mao's dicta, regarded as holy writ, will continue to be appealed to now that he is dead. We have yet to see if post-Mao China will continue to produce revolutionary enthusiasts at the expense of academic specialists.

What do objective, critical, visiting American educators think of Mainland China's schools? Thirteen well-known, respected child development experts, among them Urie Bronfenbrenner and a physician specializing in early childhood, reported their impressions of school visits in four major cities in *Childhood in China* (Yale University Press, 1975), a report praised for its insight and objectivity.

They found Chinese preschoolers quieter, gentler, less intense, less whining, and less aggressive than American children. Kindergarten teachers emphasized group effort over individual activities and taught songs and dancing better than cognitive skills like reading and language arts.

They noted primary school uniformity for ages 7-12. Peer influence was systematic and pervasive. Little Red Soldiers, Red Guards, and Communist Youth Leaguers were prominent models. Ideology prepared the young to follow adult direction. A practical curriculum minimized theory and speculation.

Primary teachers seemed brisk, competent, and interested in their tasks. The children were "remarkably self-controlled, . . . committed to their tasks, and without the disorders of behavior [seen] . . . in American schools."

Junior middle schoolers (ages 12-14) and senior middle schoolers (ages 14-16) were conforming, dutiful, well organized. Students had no curriculum choice, did not search for diverse information, were not library browsers. Yet the collective effort apparently produced students with high-level skills. Talented students, often in work production situations, were creative and inventive. Revolutionary ideological messages pervaded literature, music, and other cultural activities and events.

As in the USSR (and in contrast with the United States), Chinese out-of-school activities appeared to reinforce school values. Ordinary workers, peasants, soldiers, and revolutionary leaders, brought in as resource persons to describe the "bad old days," fired children's patriotism to "serve the people." An old woman whose feet had been bound as a child showed her curled-under, crippled toes and told of the bad old custom of foot binding. An old farmer told of his burdened, landless forebears under brutal landlords, pitiless usurers, and preying bandits. When middle school graduates departed for commune and factory work (they have some choice about assignments), they were escorted with fanfare and parades reminiscent of patriotic Americans seeing off local National Guard units.

Foreign language teaching—English and Russian are popular—employs a good deal of drill and memorization. Simple conversation using up to 2,000 words was expected after the four-year middle school.

Health care was outstanding for a developing country (noted by the American physician), even though the Chinese were self-deprecating. They never boasted, always said they were trying to do better.

The Americans were impressed by the children's "high level of concentration, orderliness, and competence." Good behavior did not suggest docility or surrender or apathy. Some children were lively, even naughty, but not for long. The Americans wondered what accounted for the "conspicuously pro-social behavior," the remarkable stability of the children. Was it a result of China's more

than 4,000 years of cultural continuity? Or because most Chinese live in continuous and enduring neighborhoods (even students' work periods away from home do not violate family cohesiveness)? Or because of China's commitment to national development? Or the unity and direction permeating Mao Tse-tung's thought?

While we expect school to produce change and some dissent in our young, the Chinese expect reasonably proper behavior which their children achieve with little conflict. The Americans could not adequately explain how school and society in China brought children to "competence, social grace, and restraint."

They pondered these paradoxes: If American schools are dysfunctional in relation to family, church, peer group, media, style, and other shaping influences, why do Chinese schools and society blend so well with cultural identity, national ethics, and adult morality? How is the fit achieved? How can school and society be so well integrated?

The Americans could only speculate. They left without full answers, convinced that they "had seen a radically different way of raising new generations." Everywhere, they were told about the sharp differences in school and society caused by the traumatic Cultural Revolution of 1966-69.

What led to the Cultural Revolution of 1966-69? One must look back to the failure of Mao's "Great Leap Forward," 1958-60, an unprecedented attempt at rapid industrialization and intense communization. High quotas were set for farms and factories, hundreds of thousands of crude backyard iron and steel blast furnaces were built from scrap, communes were formed from cooperative farms, people were marched to and from work and lived and ate in common barracks and mess halls. Bad crop years, famines, poor planning, and peasant resistance to family regimentation made the Great Leap Forward fail. In its aftermath, Mao was forced to retire to second-line command as Communist Party theorist, handing over daily administration to practical leaders—pragmatic, incentive-minded, national development-oriented, and concerned with producing academically able technicians in preference to Communist enthusiasts.

Despite his "great leap" failure, Mao had brought peasants into initial contact with iron and steel making, with crude industrialization, and had taught them the value of self-reliance. This last

became all-important when the USSR, which had long-standing border disputes and ideological friction with China, removed its Soviet technicians from China in the summer of 1960, taking with them building plans, blueprints, machines, and money loans. China was forced to become self-reliant.

The early 1960s brought changes not to Mao's liking: specialization, experts, elites; schools producing soft youths not wanting to soil their hands but wanting easy, high-paying white-collar jobs. Mao determined to reverse this turn toward capitalism, this betrayal of the revolution, this imitation of the USSR's use of salary differentials and consumer incentives to buy off discontent. But Mao, no longer the strongest commander, had little more than his influence with People's Liberation Army leaders to help turn China back toward pure communism.

What exactly was the Cultural Revolution of 1966-69? How did it affect schools? Officially it was the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, 1966-69. In essence, to purify communism and stop China from taking the "capitalist road," Mao used student activists to remove from positions of power those who favored technical expertness over ideological fervor. It is not "experts" who win wars, he said, but "reds"; i.e., properly motivated Communists.

To reinstate revolutionary zeal, to give youths a taste of revolution, to put out of office capitalist compromisers, to set China on a road of continuing, self-correcting revolution, Mao smashed the very Party apparatus he had created. He closed universities and middle schools, organized student Red Guards, and sent them throughout China to: 1) challenge, harass, and oust authorities high and low for taking the "capitalist road"; 2) criticize and repudiate educators showing bourgeois tendencies; and 3) transform education, literature, all forms of culture, and Party leaders in all fields to conform with Maoist thinking. It was an epic, unparalleled upheaval.

Some 14 million student Red Guards, waving little red-backed *Thoughts of Mao Tse-tung* books, fanned out to harass "capitalist roaders" everywhere. It was mass rectification, a mass purge affecting millions, with a few thousand killed outright. Revisionists were made to move back into line. When the Red Guard split into warring factions, Mao unleashed the People's Liberation Army, which shipped youths off to farm work. The Cultural Revolution of 1966-69 left in its wake as administrative units the revolutionary commit-

tees we have mentioned. Committees composed of People's Liberation Army men and women, party cadres (Communist enthusiasts), workers, and peasants control every aspect of Chinese life.

The Cultural Revolution of 1966-69 tried to purify the Party, set its members firmly back into the Communist path, politicized a whole generation of young people, gave them practical experience in Communist theory, discredited the experts, reinstated doctrinal redness, raised Mao's thoughts to the level of holy writ along with Marxism-Leninism, and made the educational system nonelitist—but at high cost in turmoil, lost industrial-agricultural production, and in curtailed educational output caused by two to three years of closed schools.

Is there any comparison with American student rebellions of the late 1960s? United States dissidents were antigovernment, anti-Vietnam War; Red Guards were initially anticapitalist. The American rebellion arose spontaneously from the student mass; the Red Guards were organized from above as harassing troops in a power struggle. American student rebels were mild compared with China's student activists. China's Cultural Revolution of 1966-69 was more complicated and often more chaotic. Mao used Red Guards to harass deviationists; the latter (really moderates considered insufficiently Communist-minded) in turn organized other Red Guards to fight off radical Red Guards. When, by 1969, the People's Liberation Army had shipped the more pugnacious Red Guards to farm work and restored order, what remained was apparently more than Mao had hoped for: redness (Communist doctrine) restored to primacy and Mao's thoughts elevated as holy writ to the level of a state religion. Mao anticipated "continuous revolution" as a weapon against future moves toward capitalism in these words:

> The present Great Cultural Revolution is only the first. . . . The Communist Party and the people . . . must not think that everything will be all right after one or two great Cultural Revolutions, or even after three or four.

What lasting effects did the Cultural Revolution have on education? Formal schooling was interrupted for two to three years, the price Mao was willing to pay to reaffirm China's Communist commitment. But the Cultural Revolution also reaffirmed education as a prime instrument of politics; assured preference to children of peasants, workers, and soldiers; and, by linking education with produc-

tion to serve agricultural and industrial needs, reinforced the work-study concept.

What is an example of a school changed by the Cultural Revolution? This example is adapted from a Chinese source. Middle School No. 28 began some reforms in 1958 by setting up a few small factories and sending students to communes to help during busy seasons. But revisionists in control stopped these activities, saying that they disrupted the normal education procedure. "The students were again in an ivory tower, separated from reality behind closed doors, reading books, pushing for high marks and driving to become famous experts above the masses." Confucius's idea that "he who excels in learning can be an official" lured students from the political struggle, taught them to despise manual work, and required much homework, which worsened students' health. Following Chairman Mao's saying that the "working class must exercise leadership in everything," a Mao Tse-tung Thought Propaganda Team of workers came to the school in 1968 and put a revolutionary committee in control.

Now No. 28 and all other schools are "open door" schools which have put education back into the correct orientation of training workers in both socialist consciousness and culture. The small classroom of the school is integrated with the big classroom of society; book learning is closely related to actual class struggle and to production. Students and teachers come into contact with workers, peasants, and soldiers. Now the school's three factories for making electric motors, electronics equipment, and electroplating serve as the school's physics and chemistry classrooms. The school also has agreements with 14 outside factories, four agricultural brigades, three state farms, and three People's Liberation Army companies. Students study seven months in school classrooms and three months in society's "big classrooms."

How did the Cultural Revolution affect the arts? It made the arts pervasively propagandistic: theater, film, radio, music, museums, and all other forms of cultural communication. Chiang Ching, Mao's fourth wife and a former Shanghai actress, rose to eminence as the chief radicalizer of all cultural entertainment. She commissioned a few model propaganda operas and films. Chinese love to see, for example, "Red Detachment of Women," a modern revolutionary dance drama with stirring music. The familiar story is of a peasant's daughter, ill-treated as a slave in a prerevolutionary great house by

the brutal landlord and his sons. They abuse her and leave her for dead. She is found and nursed to health by the Red Army, joins it, and as leader of a Red Detachment of Women, finds and kills the landlord.

Other popular operas and color films also have similar stirring propaganda themes of Chinese workers, on their own, making steel, building ships, digging canals, terracing mountains. "Fiery Years" is a well-done color film about an industrial crew using a Soviet-type blast furnace to make steel from a Soviet formula for the Chinese navy. But the Soviets leave and take with them their blueprints, plans, and equipment. By trial and error and heroic effort the Chinese workers figure out the steel-making process, produce the materials for the ships, and proudly set them afloat under the Chinese flag.

But isn't this obvious propaganda reprehensible to us? Yes; at least it is strange in the context of our individualism and free access to a wide range of cultural media. China's cultural media, now controlled and "propagandized" to tie its people's thinking to national goals and to Chinese Communist morality, may be distasteful to Americans. On the other hand, some critics say the American cultural media, being commercial and diverse, are often debased to the lowest appetite for sex and violence, making their influence discordant and harmful to children.

In the United States not long ago at least one cultural genre, the cowboy movie, came as close to being morally and perhaps doctrinally focused as current Chinese operas and films are. Cowboy heroes like Ken Maynard, Tom Mix, Buck Jones, and Hoot Gibson provided an ethic of right and wrong, chivalry, fair play, loyalty, respect for the opposite sex, and the rights of the weak. On the Saturday matinee's silver screen the virtues exemplified by then-believable heroes and heroines in a frontier setting included courtesy, kindness, loyalty, bravery, and truth. Now, the U.S. cinema, disdaining censorship, offers such provocative, titillating cultural fare as "The Graduate" ("adolescent" identification), "Cool Hand Luke" (rebellion against the law), and "Bonnie and Clyde" (glamour of crime) as a coterie of creative talent explores the profound moral changes now affecting America.

China's choice, at this stage of its artistic development, is to enforce a moral, doctrinal tone, as in "Red Detachment of Women" and "Fiery Years."

A gathering of revolutionaries.

Two students doing "social investigation," an example of what the Chinese call "learning from the working class."

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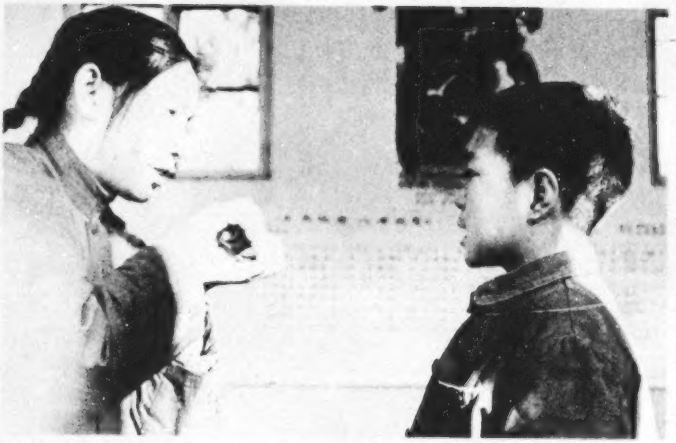
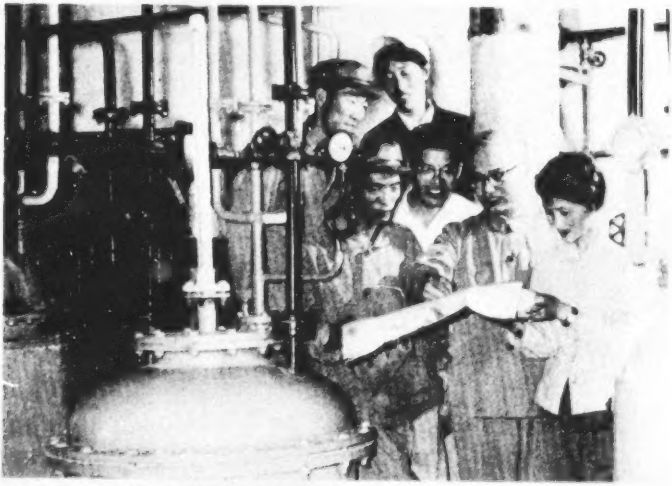


A Peking University linguist coaches student with hearing disabilities.



Science students apply theory to practice in a Chinese factory.

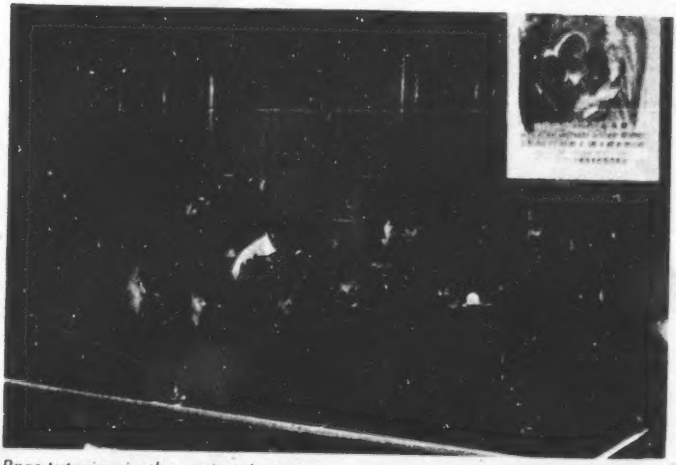
—photo courtesy of Mrs. John Hawkins, Los Angeles, California

People's Liberation Army commander lectures to rural students on the history of revolutionary struggles.

Discussion on the Theory of Elementary Particles.

—photo courtesy of Mrs. John Hawkins, Los Angeles, California

Youngsters in a village school share makeshift desks.



Peer tutoring in the national pastime.

—photo courtesy of Mrs. John Hawkins, Los Angeles, California

Tsunghua village schoolhouse in northeastern China houses grades 1—6.

—photo courtesy of Mrs. John Hawkins, Los Angeles, California

English language class at a Peking middle school.

photo courtesy of R. G. Cunningham, Pennsylvania State University

Nursery school children in the Peng Pu People's Commune on the outskirts of Shanghai.

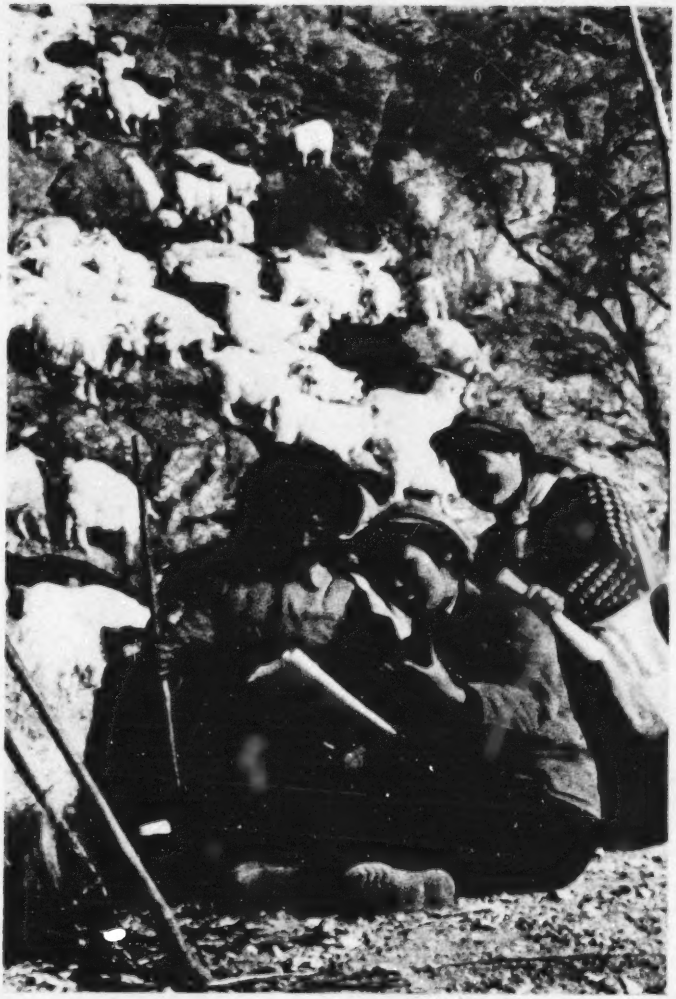
"Red Detachment of Women," a modern revolutionary dance drama.

photo courtesy of Mrs. John Hawkins, Los Angeles, California

Students in a village school

—photo courtesy of Mrs. John Hawkins, Los Angeles, California

Educated young people who return to the countryside often teach as para-professionals.



Adult education in the provinces

Military training for worker/peasant/soldier students.

The Youth React

Returning to school—if examinations and grades are downplayed, how are students evaluated? Because Maoist doctrine abhors elitism and distrusts intellectuals, tests were and are minimized. No diplomas or degrees are awarded; certificates indicate completed programs. Tests at all school levels (one or two per term are at the discretion of each school's revolutionary committee) tend to be open-book, problem-solving, group efforts. Cumulative school records are kept, evaluating behavior and ideological correctness more than academic ability. Weak students are helped by teachers and especially by peers, particularly by organized youth groups. Electronics students at Tsinghua University, for example, are tested by correcting faulty circuits. Economics students take practical university graduation examinations by giving lectures to nearby coal miners. For graduation examination, a history student may interview the miners and describe historically how their attitudes and output were changed by the Cultural Revolution of 1966-69. Practical, collective effort over a long time span has taken the place of theoretical, individualized, competitive exams over a short period.

Red Guard youths are made to do farm work and city youths are disillusioned with the prospect of a lifetime of commune work. Why? Since it was initiated by Mao in 1968, resettlement from cities to rural areas has been a fact of life for over 10 million young people. Needing over 80% of its people for agricultural production, China cannot give employment to all urban primary and middle school graduates (12 Chinese cities have a population over one million). By and large, this urban-to-rural shift, one of the largest organized population movements in history, is done willingly. Two-thirds of those going to

the countryside are ages 14 and 15; for most it will be a permanent move, with occasional visits back to family and friends.

Leave-taking occurs amid stirring public fanfare, whipped-up enthusiasm, red flags flying, singing, joking, shouts of joy (and no doubt some quiet apprehension). One begins to sense the depth, vigor, and power of the serve-the-people motif. Young people know what they are getting into, as do their parents. Mainly, they move willingly—to solve urban crowding and rural backwardness—for China, Mao, and the future national good. In 1975 an estimated 1.5 million city graduates were "rusticated"; i.e., resettled. That year from Liaoning Province, a center of heavy industry in Manchuria, the 240,000 students who went to the countryside included 90% of the province's urban middle school graduates. Others, assigned factory work, were considered lucky. A handful were selected for further education. In 1975, after at least two years of farm or factory work, 167,000 youths in China were selected by their units for university study.

Is not dissatisfaction inevitable? There is some dissatisfaction. The regime tries to make adjustments by allowing some who have worked hard in the countryside to return to factory work in their home cities; by exempting single children or the youngest in a family; by sending along from their home towns some Party workers to live with and help guide raw youths until they are adjusted; by urging commune members to help new city youths adjust gradually to the rigors of rural life; by giving government allowances to help feed city youths until they toughen up enough to produce and earn as much as their rural-born colleagues.

But isn't this forced labor? Calling resettlement forced labor is open to question. Most city youths accept it as routine, as expected, as a challenge. Most of them initially revel in it as a mark of adulthood, as a test of maturity, as fulfilling their roles as builders of Chinese communism. For those imbued with revolutionary enthusiasm, resettlement recreates the hardships, struggles, and sacrifices earlier Chinese Communists endured. Young Chinese are brought up on hardship tales. As in the past, age is respected. Old people are invited to speak in schools about the bad old days. Revolutionary leaders tell of the early hardships of the Long March of 1934-35 to escape Chiang Kai-shek's encirclement. Factory and commune achievements are praised. For these reasons urban youths going to

the country feel more pride than dread, more challenge than disappointment, more acceptance than rejection, and more willingness to serve than inclination to shirk. They know that life has improved immensely since 1949. They are proud that China has at last "stood up"; that is, taken her rightful place among the world's nations. Such idealism about their country and its apparent elevation under communism seems to satisfy many young people.

How good is China's higher education? Recent American and other visitors are more critical than complimentary about China's higher education. By one account, two-thirds of China's 664 institutions of higher learning have poor equipment, inadequate teaching staffs, and graduates whose training has been too short. The best institutions with better staffs and facilities are of pre-Communist origin. These stages of higher education under Communist control are evident: Soon after military victory in 1953-57 there was significant ideological pressure on professors and students to win them to communism. In 1958-60, a consolidation period, some emphasis was put on academic achievement and expertise, and on the introduction of half-work, half-study programs in order to aid manpower development. In the 1966-69 Cultural Revolution period, universities and middle schools were largely closed. Since 1970 the struggle for primacy has continued between redness and expertness, between radicals in seeming retreat and moderates in apparent command.

Don't university intellectuals rebel? Radical Maoists have distrusted intellectuals, have placed Party cadres (enthusiasts) over them, and have sought to remold them in May 7 schools—with only moderate success. Intellectuals in China, as in the USSR and other Communist countries, frustrate the regime. Despite more higher education institutions, more women in engineering and mechanics, more students, and a higher proportion of peasant/worker/soldier students—higher education is still China's weakest link. Redness and expertness coexist warily. With Mao gone, pragmatic moderates must, if they want to speed national development, elevate academic achievement over doctrine, and that may well mean tolerating differences and even allowing dissent.

China's "Can Do" Attitude

What particularly impresses American observers about school-trained Chinese youth? Their "can do" attitude does, and their belief that much can be done with short training. "Barefoot doctors," for example, are peasants trained for a brief period—usually three months—to treat minor illnesses and common diseases, provide health education, immunize and offer other preventive services, supervise sanitation, and educate people about family planning. They do farm work until needed for medical service, are paid basically as worker-peasants with little extra compensation. They seem proud to serve. The public approves and esteems them. Often medical students are chosen from among barefoot doctors. Sometimes young women are trained for a six-month period to be both midwives and barefoot doctors. They know enough to care adequately for minor ailments and to refer more serious cases to physicians. In this and other fields there is a marked willingness to experiment with short training periods to produce needed manpower and womanpower.

What about medical education? By one account, the relatively few doctors China trained before 1949 practiced mainly in the big cities. Hospitals were also in the cities, not accessible to the peasant poor. China trained 18 times as many doctors from 1949 to 1965 as from 1929 to 1949. This pace has increased greatly since the Cultural Revolution of 1966-69, with over 80% of graduates serving rural people. Medical students who have several years of post-middle school work experience start clinical study during the first year of the three-year program. Physicians help train the over one million barefoot doctors (peasants gave them that affectionate name), enough now for one to serve or visit frequently each commune's production brigade,

China's basic organized work unit. Visiting physicians from the United States and elsewhere, most of them objective and many initially critical, generally praise the quality and low cost of medical education and health services. Chinese acupuncture has attracted particularly close attention from the West.

What accounts for China's "can do" attitude? As on the American frontier, necessity for creative substitutions. But the Chinese seem also to have an unusual sense of mission, of participation, of commitment to an ideal greater than themselves. The group is clearly more important than the individual. They feel they can do something about avoiding famine, recovering from floods and earthquakes, building a bridge, digging a canal, running factories and communes, lowering the birth rate, and running a school. The Chinese know and their children love to hear the story often quoted by Mao about the Foolish Old Man and the Mountain. The old man needed crop land to grow food and the mountain stood in the way. Each evening the old man spent time after his day's labor moving buckets of earth from the mountain. His neighbors laughed at him. "Why do you wear yourself out? You will never move the mountain." But the old man smiled and said: "When I die, my sons will carry on; when they die, there will be my grandsons, and then their sons and grandsons, and so on throughout time. High as the mountain is, it cannot grow higher. With every bit we dig, it will be that much lower. Surely, some day we will move the mountain." The old man smiled and went on moving buckets of earth from the mountain.

This belief in "people power," hard work, and group effort to solve problems is, in China, highly motivating and a powerful tool in raising children along ideological lines.

Does this attitude come from school? From Chinese society? From communism? From Maoism? It comes from all these sources. And from over 4,000 years of experience and wisdom. It may begin communally with multiple mothering, or more properly, multiple parenting. First there is the mother—caring, nursing, fondling. When she is at work during the day there are the several "aunties" in the nursery, all surrogate mothers, who offer love, care, guidance. Most often there are grandmothers and grandfathers too who hold, handle, fondle, care, and guide the young children. As in Sparta, every adult is parent to every child, both in theory and practice. As in USSR nurseries and Israeli kibbutzim, everyone knows how youths

should be raised, everyone cares how youths are rasied; everyone is involved.

What is the key socializing factor? The key socializing factor may be that all the mother and father figures seem to have in common a strong central value system which permeates the child-rearing years, the schooling process, and adult life. The influence of this value system on the new human being the Chinese are trying to fashion continues as the adult moves into normal multiple allegiances: family, work, Mao Tse-tung study groups, local revolutionary committees, commune teams, and brigade units.

A Hothouse of Revolution

All can't be that rosy. What about dissatisfied youth who vote with their feet against communism? Some disillusionment exists. A Taiwan source lists as high a number as 2,965,557 who have fled the mainland since 1949, probably including Chiang Kai-shek's wealthy nationalist followers. Some dissident youths have braved the arduous trek to the coast and the eight-hour (or more) illegal dangerous swim to Hong Kong. An unknown number have been killed by sharks or shot or intercepted by Communist patrol boats. Since 1949, most of the tiny percentage who fled were propertied and professional people opposed to and threatened by communism.

For the 800 million majority who sided with Mao against Chiang, the Communist regime has, in little more than 25 years, revived China's centuries-old pride, recalling the thousands of years when it was in fact the "middle" kingdom, i.e., the central, most cultured country under heaven to whom neighbors eagerly came to kowtow and to learn. Some admire the Communist regime for turning society upside down, for elevating the lowly masses for the first time. China is thus a land of revolution and, while Mao lived, was in continuous revolution.

Why this radical stress on continual turmoil? China is closer to its revolution than we are to ours, is more idealistic, more enthusiastic, and hence feels more emotions toward its founders and founding ideas than we do toward ours. The Chinese are still more dedicated to overthrowing tyranny than we, still more fearful of a return of exploitation than we. The revolutionary spirit is stressed and incorporated in the person and sayings of Mao so that the masses will attempt and sustain seemingly impossible tasks—for communism, for the revolution, really for China, because Chinese communism is basically Chinese nationalism.

How can education function effectively in a hothouse of revolution, of continual agitation? In the Chinese Communist context, education goes beyond schooling; it is one with culture and includes drama, opera, dance, museums, radio, films, newspapers, all forms of literature, and the entire range of cultural media. It also embraces recreation and entertainment. In China everything is educative; the whole society educates. Communism was to Mao (he was long disdainful of the USSR) a vehicle to carry out bold social experiments in uplifting the poor Chinese peasant. Education in the broadest sense—including language and concepts—is a chief means toward this end. More than in other Communist countries, the word *people* is deliberately used for its revolutionary connotation: the *People's* Republic of China, the *People's* Liberation Army, the *people's* currency, and so on. *Revolution* is similarly used for ideological exhortation.

Dissatisfaction, divisions, factions, and ethnic yearning surely exist. But China's friends and foes alike ponder how the Communist regime has been able to instill among Chinese a seemingly new morality, altruism, selflessness, serve-the-people attitude, and willingness to try to move mountains. Visitors who like some things and dislike other things about China still see no easy way to explain its motive-force other than by its communal cooperation and revolutionary dedication.

In conclusion, what can we learn from Chinese educators and they from us? A nation raises its young in keeping with its own history, culture, and vision of the future. We cannot successfully borrow directly from China or they from us.

We can study China's school innovations and ponder their effect: their work study; shortened, enriched programs; rural resettling of urban youths; their elevating formerly disadvantaged peasant/worker/soldier children; instilling altruistic, moral, ethical, and serving attitudes.

We can compare these with our own innovations: career education, educational TV, closed-circuit TV, team teaching, teaching machines, open education, work-study and action learning, school integration, open university admissions, performance contracting, accountability, vouchers. We can try to assess how well our innovations work for us in comparison with how well theirs work for them.

We can ask what forces compelled us to embark on our school in-

novations: economic and manpower needs to meet the Russian cold war challenge; the shock of Sputnik; space age defense; landing men on the moon; wars of national liberation; and, internally, revolutions of rising expectations as the deprived (blacks, Puerto Ricans, native Americans, other ethnic groups, poor whites, women) sought entry into the affluence of the American mainstream.

We can compare our school-shaping forces with those affecting China's schools: replacing capitalism with socialism and then communism; overturning society so that the masses are elevated; transforming the world's largest backward peasant country into a world power; strengthening a nation with 12 bordering neighbors, some of whom have taken China's territory; Taiwan's pinprick threats to invade the mainland.

Our school innovations have cost more, have been accompanied by mixed enthusiasm, and are less than moderately successful. China's school innovations have cost less, have apparently been publicly supported and implemented, and are judged to be more than moderately successful.

We can ask why our schools and our society seem out of phase, why Chinese schools and society exhibit a rare unity. We began mass education earlier, were economically prosperous, and spent a larger portion of our wealth for schools. China had a late start, was and remains less viable economically, and has spent a smaller portion of her resources on schools. Our school progress stems from a complex mixture of local, state, and federal support; an educated and dedicated teaching profession; and cooperation from publishers and other private enterprises. The Chinese people have followed the lead of the Chinese Communist Party and its ideology.

In the end, America will use free enterprise and individualism to strengthen professionalism and government leadership in education. The Chinese have gambled their future on Chinese communism. We each move along our own ideological tracks toward the unknown future. But we have in common the human experience and can benefit from comparing how each raises and educates its children.

Appendix

To aid continuity and to enrich understanding of the People's Republic of China, the following are presented: *Brief Facts, Brief History, School Summary,* and *Mao Talks About Education.*

Brief Facts

Size: 3.7 million square miles, the world's third largest country—after USSR (8.6 million square miles), and Canada (3.8 million square miles). The United States is fourth (3.6 million square miles).

Location: Dominates East Asia; share 13,210-mile land boundary with 12 neighbors, including USSR (4,150 miles) and India. China has had border clashes with both.

Population: 800 million (a low estimate), world's largest population; one of every four persons on earth is Chinese. An estimated one billion population by 1980. It is claimed that many birth control centers and instruction in the use of inexpensive devices have been in effect since 1953; delayed marriage is encouraged (women age 23, men 25). There is some doubt that the campaign is or can be enforced in rural areas.

Economy: Eighty-five percent rural with eight out of 10 working in agriculture; only 11% of China's vast land is arable; little food is grown on remaining deserts, mountains, wasteland, or urban areas (some dozen cities have populations of one million or more each, including Shanghai, over 10 million—world's largest city—and Peking, capital, over four million). Ninety-six percent of the people live on one-sixth of the land, mainly on the coastline or near life-giving rivers (Yellow, Yangtze, Pearl); an average of 1,200 persons per square mile. Survival by intensive cultivation of every square inch has been aided since 1949 by construction of many dams and vast reforestation, which have actually changed some temperature patterns. Small but growing industries: iron, steel, coal, machines, textiles; strenuously self-reliant in producing most necessities but lacks chemical fertilizer, complex machinery, scientists, highly skilled technicians. Gross National Product in 1970 about $125 billion, or $145 per capita; (United States, $1,000 billion, or $5,000 per capita; USSR, $500 billion, or $2,000 per capita; India, $45 billion, or $85 per capita). The average worker's income is $20-$50 per month.

Ethnic Groups and Languages: Ninety-four percent Han group, 6% minorities: Mongols, Chuangs, Tibetans, Manchus, others (some with over one million population), living mainly in sparsely settled border areas. Main language: Mandarin (the northern dialect); many other dialects. All literates, however, understand written Chinese.

Religion: Before 1949, ethical concepts from Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism dominated; also many believed in ancestor worship, animism; 2.5% are Moslem, 1% are Christian. Religious worship has been curbed since the Cultural Revolution of 1966-69, when the few existing churches were closed or converted to museums (some Christians are said to worship in secret).

Literacy: Fifty percent of those over age 15 and 40% of those over age 25.

Life Expectancy: About 50 years.

Brief History

"Middle Kingdom": Continuous culture for over 4,000 years. Dynastic emperors ruled under a "mandate of heaven" (akin to divine right of kings). China always viewed itself as the most superior and cultured central empire on earth; all outsiders were "barbarians" who kowtowed and paid homage.

Confucius: 551-479 B.C., stressed orderly class hierarchy, superiority of the scholar, moral rightness of orderly government. This loyalty and ethical behavior were furthered by Mencius, 372-289 B.C.; by Taoism's stress on man's harmony with nature; and by Legalism, a philosophy stressing social order and discipline from the emperor downward. Long-nailed scholars, exalted by passing elaborate examinations and mastering Confucian and other classics (scholars could—but rarely did—come from the peasantry), were sinecured civil servants between the masses and the emperor. Europe was backward when China invented movable type printing, magnetic compass, gunpowder, crossbow, saddle, stirrup, wheelbarrow, water-powered spinning wheel, paper money, paddlewheel boats.

Humiliation: Engrossed in the wisdom of her classics, inward-looking in her cultural superiority, China ignored early science and the industrial revolution which made Europe militarily powerful and ready to Christianize and trade for her riches: tea, porcelain, fabrics,

art, ivory, jade, brass, bronze. Europeans humiliated China militarily and occupied her ports. Winning the Opium Wars (1839-42, 1856-60), Britain, then France, forced opium sale in China and used the proceeds to pay for Chinese exports. In the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95), China lost Korea and Taiwan. The Boxer Rebellion (1898-1900) ended when Europeans quelled this Chinese attempt to expel foreigners and established the "Open Door" or the equalization of European occupation of Chinese ports.

Nationalists: "We are an open dish fit to be carved and eaten," said revolutionary Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925), whose forces toppled the Manchu Emperor (1911). Only the USSR aided the new government, with Stalin's secret order to take over from within, to make Communist China a Soviet satellite. Sun Yat-sen's successor, Chiang Kai-shek (1887-1975), trained by the Soviets, broke with and bitterly fought the Chinese Communists (Chinese Communist Party was formed in 1921).

Communists: Along with other Communists, Mao Tse-tung—a peasant's son and sometime teacher, newspaper editor, Party organizer, and professional revolutionary—resisted Chiang's anti-Communist drives while also ousting warlords and landlords and organizing peasant support. Mao emerged as leader after the "Long March" of 1934-35 when only 20,000 survived a harrowing 6,000-mile trek to north China mountains (out of 100,000 families who fled Chiang's encirclement). Seeing Japan as the immediate enemy (Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931 and soon controlled much of China), Mao forced Chiang in 1937 into an uneasy united front. World War II's Pacific operations eased pressure on China and brought Allied victory in 1945.

Communist Victory: Despite China's exhaustion, Chiang, aided by funds and arms from the United States, continued to fight the Communists. Many of his soldiers deserted to the Communists. Peasants, disgusted by Nationalist corruption, shifted their support. Unlike Chiang's undisciplined forces, the Communist army did not loot, kill, or rape. Mao's eight rules of conduct were: 1) speak politely, 2) pay fairly for what you buy, 3) return everything you borrow, 4) pay for anything you damage, 5) do not hit or swear at people, 6) do not damage crops, 7) do not take liberties with women, 8) do not ill-treat captives. Chiang, with support waning, fled to Taiwan. On October 1, 1949, Mao proclaimed the People's Republic of China.

Maoist Politicization: Believing that people, not material things, are decisive, Mao politicized China's peasantry. At the village level, "enemies" were named, tried, and punished by the villagers themselves (one to three million were executed; many more landlords, usurers, businessmen were "re-educated" and redeemed); peasants helped redistribute land; campaigns against corruption, waste, bureaucracy, dishonesty, and vermin were conducted.

Intellectuals: Needing intellectuals' support, Mao said in February, 1957, "Let a hundred flowers bloom, let a hundred schools of thought contend." The resulting flood of criticism frightened the Party. Intellectual recalcitrants were executed; others were sent to work on farms.

Great Leap Forward: By mass regimentation from 1958-60, Mao forced the pace of modernization. Factory and commune quotas were set ever higher; backyard blast furnaces sprang up; people were marched to work and housed and fed communally. Peasants resisted the breakup of family life. The Great Leap failed, but Mao "industrialized" many peasants and whipped a nation into self-reliance.

Cultural Revolution 1966-69: Mao disliked the Party leaders' evident drift from communism toward private gain and comfort. To offset USSR-like "revisionism" (imitating capitalism by producing consumer goods to buy off discontent), to reverse an emerging self-serving elite, to reinstate revolutionary zeal, Mao closed universities and middle schools and sent 14 million rampaging Red Guard youths to harass leaders who were "taking the capitalist road." Having shocked leaders back to communism, the army disbanded the faction-ridden Red Guards and sent the wildest youths to do farm work. Mao politicized a new generation and made all agencies, including schools, more dedicated to communism.

Anti-Confucius Lin Piao Campaign After 1970: By discrediting Confucius's advocacy of traditional family loyalty, this campaign enhanced the Mao-favored serve-the-people attitude. Moderate Lin Piao, once named Mao's successor, was called a traitor (he reportedly died in a 1971 plane crash escaping to the USSR), for allegedly plotting Mao's removal and for wanting technical "expertness." His memory has been downgraded, along with Confucius's stress on harmony and primacy of the elite scholar, while doctrinal "redness" has been praised.

Communes: Each of the over 80,000 communes sells crops to the government at a fixed price and makes almost everything for self-sufficiency. Commune families work common land (but each family also has its own private gardening plot and private apartment). The commune is administered by a revolutionary committee of Party and army workers which does overall planning and manages schools, hospitals, and health centers. Ma Chio People's Commune near Shanghai in 1973 had an average annual income of $450 per household, or $84 per person. Pay, made at the grassroots production team level, is based on points given for the kind and amount of work, for attitude toward labor, and for participation in exercises, communal concerns, and discussions of Mao's thoughts.

After Mao: Mao Tse-tung died on September 9, 1976, eight months after Chou En-lai's death. Moderate Hua Kuo-feng first succeeded Chou as premier, dealt with dislocations from severe August earthquakes, then succeeded Mao as Party chairman on October 12, after arresting some 40 top radicals, including Mao's wife, Chiang Ching, for allegedly planning a coup. Moderates, seemingly in control, want education to produce technocrats in order to aid national development. Radicals, still contending, want education to produce revolutionary successors, that is, Communist enthusiasts.

School Summary

School Policy: This has zigzagged between emphasis on intellectual content for rapid national development, favored by moderates, and practical work-study favored by Maoists (who prefer "redness" over expertness).

School Ladder: The pre-1966 6-3-3 pattern has been reduced to five-year elementary, two-year junior middle, and two-year senior middle school for ages 7 to 16. There is no compulsory education, but the five-year elementary school is universal. Forty percent of the middle school age group attend middle schools. The aim of these schools is to train factory and farm workers, *not* to prepare students for university entrance.

Preschool: Nurseries for ages 6 months to 3 years and kindergartens for ages 4 to 7 years are available in communes, housing units, and factories. They provide physical and health care, toys, food, bed rest. Children learn numbers, drawing, and correct social attitudes. They sing songs and recite Mao sayings. There are small

fees for day care (free for poor families). Trained teachers earn an average of $20 per month.

Elementary and Secondary: Elementary: The usual subjects—all taught from the Marxian class struggle viewpoint. Some time is spent in factory-like conditions making tacks, chess sets, water pumps, etc. Junior middle schools offer general education and senior middle schools offer advanced, specialized courses. Elementary and secondary schools emphasize problem-solving techniques that serve the people; for example, on tiny plots of land, city middle school students grow herbs for medicine, mushrooms for food.

University: Most school graduates enter lifelong farm work. University entrance is based on middle school plus two to three years' work and recommendations of working peers; preference is given red activists with worker/peasant/soldier parents. Enrollments have been cut in half since the Cultural Revolution of 1966-69. Most courses have been shortened. Course planning is done jointly by students and professors. Exams are often open book or problem solving. Average monthly salaries: professor, $100-$150; lecturer, $75; assistant lecturer, $35; graduate assistant, $23 to $28. All teachers do some productive labor.

Mao Talks About Education

Study, Work, Revolution (1939): In ancient times the youth of China who studied under a sage neither learned revolutionary theory nor took part in labor. Today little revolutionary theory is taught and there are no such things as production movements in the schools over vast regions of our country. It is only in Yenan and in the anti-Japanese base areas behind the enemy lines that the young people are fundamentally different.

Overloaded Curriculum (1917): In the educational system of China, required courses are as thick as the hairs on a cow. . . . Speculating on the intentions of the educators, one is led to wonder whether they did not design such an unwieldly curriculum in order to exhaust the students, to trample on their bodies, and ruin their lives. . . . How stupid!

Well-rounded Socialist Education (1957): Our educational policy must enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually, and physically and become a well-educated worker with socialist consciousness.

Educational Reform (1937): Radically reform the existing educational policy and system. . . . Newspapers, books, and magazines, films, plays, literature, and art should all serve national defense.

Instructions to the People's Liberation Army (1949): Protect all public and private schools, hospitals, cultural and educational institutions, athletic fields, and other public welfare establishments. It is to be hoped that all personnel in these institutions will remain at their posts; the People's Liberation Army will protect them from molestation.

Redness and Expertness (1969): The relationship between redness and expertness, between politics and work, stands for the unity of two opposites. It is certainly necessary to criticize and repudiate the tendency to ignore politics. It is necessary to oppose the armchair politician on the one hand and the practicalist who has gone astray on the other.

Source of Correct Ideas (1937): Where do correct ideas come from? Do they drop from the skies? No. Are they innate in the mind? No. They come from social practice and from it alone; they come from three kinds of social practice, the struggle for production, the class struggle, and scientific experiment. It is man's social being that determines his thinking. Once the correct ideas characteristic of the advanced class are grasped by the masses, these ideas turn into a material force which changes society and changes the world.

No Learning Without Labor (1965): It takes a total of 16, 17, or 20 years for one to reach the university from primary school, and in this period one never has a chance to look at the five kinds of cereals, to look at how the workers do their work, how peasants till their fields, and how traders do business. In the meantime, one's health is also ruined. Such an educational system is harmful indeed.

On Revolutionizing Education (1968): We must still run physics and engineering colleges, but the period of schooling ought to be shortened, the education [curriculum] revolutionized, proletarian politics put in command, and the way of training personnel from the ranks of the workers . . . adopted. Students must be selected from workers and peasants with practical experience, and after their study at school for several years they should return to practical production.

Practical Knowledge (1942): Look at certain students, those brought up in schools that are completely cut off from the practical

activities of society. What about them? A person goes from a primary school of this kind all the way through to a university of the same kind, graduates, and is reckoned to have a stock of learning. But all he has is book learning; he has not taken part in any practical activities or applied what he has learned to any field of life. Can such a person be regarded as a completely developed intellectual? Hardly so, in my opinion, because his knowledge is still incomplete.

Let the People Run Schools (1943): We must take . . . the primary schools and turn them over to the local masses to run by themselves; the government will then give material assistance and will offer guidance in matters of policy.

The Army Is a School (1949): Our field armies of 2,100,000 are equivalent to several thousand universities and secondary schools. We have to rely chiefly on the army to supply our working cadres.

Political Education (1957): We must strengthen our ideological and political work. Both students and intellectuals should study hard. But in addition to the study of their specialized subjects, they must make progress both ideologically and politically, which means they should study Marxism, current events, and political problems. Not to have a correct political point of view is like having no soul.

Overlearning and Revisionism (1964): Marxist books should be studied, but we also must not read too many of them. . . . Should one read too many of them, one would proceed to the negative side and become a bookworm or a revisionist.

Examinations as Surprise Attacks (1964): Examinations at present are like tackling enemies, not people. They are surprise attacks, full of catch questions. They are nothing but a method of testing official stereotyped writing. I disapprove of them and advocate wholesale transformation.

Check List for Teachers (1929): 1) Resort to the method of enlightenment (abolish inculcations); 2) proceed from the short-range to the long-range; 3) proceed from the superficial to the deep; 4) speak in popular language; 5) be explicit; 6) make what you say interesting; 7) aid speech with gesticulation; 8) review concepts taught last time; 9) utilize an outline; 10) utilize discussion groups.

Unreliability of Intellectuals (1939): Intellectuals often tend to be subjective and individualistic, impractical in their thinking, and irresolute in action until they have thrown themselves heart and soul into mass revolutionary struggles, or make up their minds to serve

the interests of the masses and become one with them. . . . Not all of them will remain revolutionaries to the end. Some will drop out of the revolutionary ranks at critical moments and become passive, while a few may even become enemies of the revolution. The intellectuals can overcome their shortcomings only in mass struggles over a long period.

Dealing with Intellectuals (1948): Our Party should, therefore, adopt a careful attitude towards students, teachers, professors, scientific workers, art workers, and ordinary intellectuals. We should unite with them, educate them, and give them posts according to the merits of each case, and only a tiny number of die-hard counter-revolutionaries among them will have to be appropriately dealt with through the mass line.

Young Revolutionaries (1969): New China must care for her youth and show concern for the growth of the younger generation. . . . The young worker and peasant, the educated youth, and the young people in the armed forces are heroic and energetic and well disciplined. Without them the cause of revolution and construction cannot be successful.

Learn from the Masses (1964): Strength comes from the masses. . . . After becoming a teacher, one must learn from the masses in order to understand how one stands in one's own studies.

City Youth to the Countryside (1968): It is absolutely necessary for educated young people to go to the countryside to be reeducated by the people. . . . Cadres and other city people should be persuaded to send their sons and daughters who have finished junior or senior middle school, college, or university to the countryside. . . . Comrades throughout the countryside should welcome them.

Continuing Education (1944): In our education we must have not only regular primary and secondary schools but also scattered irregular village schools, newspaper-reading groups, and literacy classes. Not only must we have schools of the modern type; we must also utilize and transform the old style village schools.

Learning and Revolution (1958): Benjamin Franklin discovered electricity, though he began as a newspaper boy. What learning did Jesus have? . . . It is always those with less learning who overthrow those with more learning.

Learning to Swim (c. 1959): If you are resolved to do it, you can certainly learn, whether you are young or old. I will give you an

example. I really learned to swim well only in 1954; previously I had not mastered it. In 1954, there was an indoor pool at Tsinghua University [in Peking]. I went there every day with my bag, changed my clothes, and for three months without interruption I studied the nature of water. Water doesn't drown people. Water is afraid of people.

Last Poem (to Chou En-lai, 1975):

Now that our country has become red,
Who will be its guardian? Our mission, unfinished,
may take a thousand years. The struggle tires us, and our hair is gray.
You and I, old friends, can we just watch our efforts be washed away?

China Has Stood Up (1949): Our nation will never again be an insulted nation. We have stood up.

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